Leftist Paradox: GM's Wilson Pleads for Peace In Defending Army Cuts, See Page 3

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How Industry May Outflank Opposition to the Butler Bill And Establish A Master Blacklist System

Warning To The Labor Movement

The campaign for the Butler bill has been reopened here, with a statement to the Senate Internal Security subcommittee by the general counsel of the Defense Department, Wilber M. Brucker, Republican Governor of Michigan in 1931-33. The labor movement is again united in opposition, and the CIO, the AF of L., the United Automobile Workers, the I.U.E. and the Rubber Workers were all scheduled to testify against it as we went to press. The bill was blocked in the House last year after passage in the Senate, and the chances are that it will be blocked again.

But while the labor movement has its eyes focussed on Capitol Hill, a time bomb is ticking only a few blocks away in the Supreme Court. All that the Butler bill would do—and more—will be accomplished if the Court either refuses to review or reviews and upholds the registration order against the Communist party issued by the Subversive Activities Control Board. A passage in former Governor Brucker's testimony which no newspaper seems to have noticed shows that the Defense Department is ready to bypass Congress and "enact" the equivalent of the Butler bill as soon as that registration order is upheld

Here are the facts, and we hope that readers in the labor movement will not shy away from them because they seem at first sight only to involve the Communist party. Governor Brucker was asked by Richard Arens, counsel for the subcommittee, whether the Defense Department was ready to put Section 5 of the Internal Security Act into effect. Brucker replied that an order had been prepared and was ready for use as soon as the Supreme Court had sustained the pending registration order. This cryptic reference was not developed further at the hearing, but the labor movement for its own safety had better examine its implications.

A Crime to Work in Any "Defense Facility"

Section 5 of the Internal Security Act comes into action as soon as a Communist party registration order has been upheld by the Supreme Court. Section 5 thereupon makes it a crime for a Communist "to engage in any employment in any defense facility." Section 5 directs the Secretary of Defense to "designate and proclaim, and from time to time revise" a list of defense facilities. These are defined as "any plant, factory or other manufacturing, producing or service establishment, airport, airport facility, vessel, pier, waterfront facility, mine, railroad, public utility, laboratory, station, or other establishment. . . ." The Secretary of Defense need only find that "the security of the United States" requires that these facilities be *given this special protection.*

Like the Butler bill, this list would extend the security program to all of American industry. Facilities working on military contracts are already protected by security regulations, and workers cannot be employed in them without being screened. The listing provision of the Internal Security Act, like the Butler bill, would extend security screening and the blacklist to facilities which are not directly employed on defense work. The list of such plants and the order putting this into effect are, as Governor Brucker disclosed, ready for use as soon as the registration order is upheld.

This listing is more dangerous than that required by the Butler bill. The provisions of the Butler bill for screening workers in industry generally would not come into effect automatically. The screening would not be imposed unless and until the President issued a special proclamation or executive order finding "that the security of the United States is endangered by reason of actual or threatened war, or invasion, or insurrection, or subversive activity, or of disturbance or threatened disturbance of the international relations of the United States. . . ." This is sweeping enough to be used at almost any time, but the President—especially if he were trying to negotiate peace—might hesitate to alarm the country by issuing such an order. The Butler bill might pass only to become a dead letter; in any event the screening would last only as long as the proclamation was in effect.

Keystone of A Thought Control System

But a listing and screening system will go into effect at once, and permanently, without a Presidential order, if and when the registration order against the Communist party is upheld. This registration order is the keystone of the thought control structure erected by the U. S. Chamber of Commerce in the Mundt-Nixon-Ferguson legislation which finally passed Congress over Truman's veto as the McCarran Internal Security Act of 1950.

It is important for labor to notice that the 1950 Act has been amended in such a way as to make its bar against Communists broad enough to endanger any militant trade unionist. The original Act was carefully written by shrewd legalists. It distinguished members of Communist fronts from members of the Communist party (a "Communist *action* organization"). The former were forbidden to work in "any defense facility" without disclosing their membership in any organization found by the Subversive Activities Control Board to be a Communist front. The latter, actual members of the Communist party, were barred from employment in such facilities altogether.

Under the original Act, a militant trade unionist who was not and never had been a Communist would have a fighting

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Around the Globe: Vietnam, Austria, Germany, Japan and Formosa

Some Clues to the Shifting Tides in U. S. Foreign Policy

Vietnam: American policy is designed to create a government strong enough to block the holding of the elections promised in the Geneva agreement, and to wipe out the private sect armies which are suspected of secret ties with the Communists. The French believe Ho Chi-minh would win the elections, and are reconciled to them. They still hope, though with dwindling assurance, that perhaps they could come to terms with Ho Chi-minh and preserve some French cultural and economic interests in Indo-China. Prime Minister Diem, an honorable but inept man, reflects the pro-Catholic orientation of American foreign policy. Diem is a Catholic but only one-tenth of the people of Vietnam is Catholic. Thus he represents a decided minority. "The accusation you hear frequently from Vietnamian Catholics," reports the English Catholic writer Graham Greene in a vivid account of a recent visit to Vietnam (London *Sunday Times*, May 1), "is that the Church has been made a political tool, that the name of God is being used to get votes."

Austria: The State Department and the Pentagon would welcome the breakdown of negotiations for an Austrian pact. Withdrawal of occupation troops from Austria would break military lines of communication between Germany and Italy. Not a few powerful American military and diplomatic figures would like to see a new Anschluss between Western Germany and Austria. Such a "greater Western Germany" would have that much more leverage in dealing with the Russians. Above all they fear the effect of the Austrian pact on Germany, and their plans to rearm the Reich and use it as the main instrument of "liberation."

Germany: The Russians by denouncing their mutual assistance pacts with France and Britain are now in position to deal directly with the Germans. A new variant of the tactic embodied in the Rapallo and Nazi-Soviet pacts is possible. Behind the scenes distrust of the Germans is growing even in the State Department where the fashionable anthem, according to one French wit, is "Deutschland über Dulles." The Adenauer government, for all its protestations of friendship, has not yet prepared the enabling legislation required to begin on the task of recruiting, outfitting and training those long desired 12 divisions. This failure to take the necessary steps, without which the Bonn accords remain a dead letter, leaves doors open for discussion between Bonn and Moscow.

What the Germans Fear: In recently released testimony at a private hearing before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee March 26, General Alfred M. Gruenther, NATO commander in Europe, explained why 12 German divisions were wanted. This would be enough to force an advancing enemy "to concentrate as he comes against it" and "as he concentrates, he becomes very vulnerable to atomic weapons." General Gruenther stressed the fact that it was "not merely 12 German divisions" but these "plus the use of atomic weapons" which figured in NATO plans. He implied (1) that 12 German divisions without atomic weapons would not be enough to tip the balance of forces against the East, and (2) that Ger-

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Ever Heard of UHF-TV?

Extraordinarily little attention was paid in the press last week-end to the 68-page minority report made by Federal Communications Commissioner Frieda B. Hennock to the need for a Congressional investigation to break the monopolistic grip of the big networks on TV stations, programming, advertisers and talent.

Miss Hennock, the one independent voice on the FCC, pointed out that the public has invested more than 10 billion dollars in over 30,000,000 TV sets that cannot tune in UHF (ultra high frequency) channels, though these represent 85 percent of all television.

Although there are 108 UHF stations left on the air, few set owners have ever heard of UHF. As Miss Hennock wrote Chairman Magnuson of the Senate Commerce Committee the public "is still completely unaware of the fact that they are being cheated when they buy sets that cannot receive signals from 85 percent of the TV spectrum."

While four stations are about as much as can be broadcast over "normal" VHF (very high frequency channels), there are about eighty bands available on ultra high frequency. This "scarcity" makes VHF easier to control and the big networks, according to Miss Hennock, are trying to freeze out UHF as they tried to freeze out FM stations on radio.

No regulatory agency of government is more closely controlled by the industry it is supposed to regulate than FCC. Miss Hennock, a Truman oppointee, has also led the fight for educational TV. Her term expires June 30, and she deserves support in this battle to save TV from complete monopoly control.

Eastland Declines to Call Elizabeth Bentley for Cross-Examination

Byron Scott, counsel to William Henry Taylor, last associate of the late Harry D. White still in government employment, has released an exchange of letters with Senator Eastland, who succeeded Jenner as head of the Internal Security subcommittee when the Democrats took over. Eastland refused to let Taylor's counsel cross-examine Elizabeth Bentley on the serious discrepancies (see our issue of April 25) in her accusations. A committee anxious to get at the truth would at least subpoena Miss Bentley and cross-examine her itself, especially since it goes on taking her story at face value.

While the Democrats, from Mr. Truman down, still lack the nerve to pitch in and fight the twenty years of treason myth, the Taylor case is beginning to reverberate. The Washington Post in an editorial April 30 said that since the Internal Security subcommittee echoed the Bentley spy ring charges against Taylor "after a grand jury had declined to indict . . . on the basis of her testimony" it is under a special obligation to find out whether the charges are true. McCarthy was allowed to cross-examine his accusers and Eastland himself allowed Clifford Durr to cross-examine Paul Crouch on behalf of Aubrey Williams in the New Orleans hearings last year.

Scott's letter to Eastland goes all the way back to the 25th chapter of the Acts of the Apostles in its argument on the right to confront one's accusers. The Roman Governor, Festus, is there quoted as saying, "It is not the custom of the Romans to condemn any man before that he who is accused have his accusers present and have liberty to make his answer to clear himself of the things laid to his charge." It may not have been the custom of the Romans but it has certainly become the custom of us Americans.

Instead of offering to recall Miss Bentley, Eastland offers to recall Taylor for a public session. Lattimore's ordeal before the same committee shows what would likely happen to Taylor if he agreed: long sessions of tortuous examination in an effort to trip him into self-contradictions and lay the basis for perjury without calling his accuser. The Congressional witch hunters, the FBI and Brownell all feel themselves endangered by Taylor's lonely fight for vindication. That fight has just begun.

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What Was Good for General Motors Proves Good for the USA

Secretary Wilson Pleads for Peace in Defending Military Cuts

The hardest thing in the world is to see things which do not fit one's preconceptions. When Eisenhower picked the head of General Motors to be Secretary of Defense, everyone left of center protested. But Secretary Wilson has proved to be a force for peace in the Cabinet. To give our readers a glimpse of his point of view we present below some excerpts from his testimony, as released last week, on the 1956 budget before the House Appropriations Committee.

"We should give the devil his due. The whole world, including the Russians and the Chinese, are struggling with the aftermath of a terrible war, and some revolutions that followed wars. Wars do not settle problems; they just create new ones. We are still struggling with the aftermath of World War II. We have to be realists as well as idealists about it and look them over and see if, one at a time, we cannot help cure some of these problems. . . .

"The history of the world is that if you listen to the military people only they will bankrupt the nation or else create a military dictatorship. That is why our Constitution says that the civilians should say how big the Army should be. . . .

"There is no absolute security that we can achieve. I meant it very definitely when I pointed out that twice as big a force would not assure peace in the world. We will have to get at it through some other means, too, to cool off the points of conflict and various kinds of things. Too big a military force on our part might convince most of the people in the world that we were going to start trouble. They might be afraid we are going to start a war. . . .

"I do not think any of you will find me making foolish statements trying to inflame the American people or contribute to misunderstanding in the world. . . .

"It gets back to the basic thinking that we must be strong until time cures some of these ideological conflicts and some of the aftermath of World War II . . . but I am pointing out that we are strong in a military sense, and that excessive military power will not do the job, but it may simply scare all the rest of the nations and perhaps cause us to throw our weight around a little too much . . . I do not think that anyone wants to argue that we are going to match the Soviets man for man and fight a war on the continent of Asia. I do not enthuse over such a prospect. . . .

"The purpose of our country is not to precipitate a third world war; it is to establish peace in the world and to operate from strength in doing it. We must have the courage to do some of the right things, which takes more courage than to just go around with a chip on your shoulder. . . .

"I do not think the American people would support the idea that we are the policemen of the world and that we have to have sufficient military strength stationed in all the countries of the world to preserve the status quo and underwrite their security. . . ."

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many can only be defended with atomic weapons. But an atomic defense of Germany may mean the end of Germany. The Germans understand this. So General Gruenther was rather pessimistic. "With their [Russian] tendency to show that tensions are evaporating, emphasizing the horrors of atomic warfare and thermonuclear warfare for the West," the General said, "we are going to be in for a tough session. Already there is a slight but evident tendency to relax." The General made it pretty clear he himself does not really believe in the possibility of peaceful co-existence.

Formosa: Dulles is stalling, hoping to avoid talks with Communist China. The State Department's first reaction of hostility to talks was no "accident", no breakdown of liaison but the carrying out of well-defined and consistent policy directives. It is a bad situation because the President, who wants peace, doesn't really know what is going on half the time. Dulles, who thinks we ought to "forego peace in order to enjoy the blessings of liberty," is crafty, shrewd and capable, and sits at the controls of foreign policy. The Secretary of State is allied with Knowland and Radford; if the White House were capable of really running the government, it would replace Dulles with Stassen, and create a team on which Eisenhower could depend.

Unkindest Cut: The State Department is furious with its pet Asian protege, Prime Minister Mohammed Ali of Pakistan for announcing May 1 (without consulting Washington) that he has accepted an invitation to visit Chou En-lai.

VIP: *New York area readers will be able to hear Rev. Stephen H. Fritchman, of the First Unitarian Church, Los Angeles, one of the brave clergymen of this period, now on a visit to the East: May 16, at the Heywood Broun Room of the Newspaper Guild, 133 W. 44th Street, New York City, on "Have the Preachers Sold Out Socialism?" at a Monthly Review fifth birthday party (with Paul Sweezy and Leo Huberman), and May 18 at Essex House, Newark, on the Un-American Activities Committee in Los Angeles (with Professor Broadus Mitchell of Rutgers and Professor H. H. Wilson of Princeton). The latter meeting is planned by New Jersey associates of the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee as a "greeting" to the House Un-American Committee which will be "visiting" Newark that week.*

"The Reaction Against War Made Itself Felt at The White House"

"The reaction throughout the country against getting involved in a war over Matsu and Quemoy," sharp-eyed Washington bureau chief James Reston reported last Wednesday to the New York Times, "has been so strong that the President has felt he had to take it into account." In the building up of this reaction, the Weekly and its readers played their part. More than 54,000 copies were distributed of our special anti-war issue with the text of the Morse-Lehman resolution for the evacuation of Quemoy and Matsu. Through the Friends, the Unitarians, peace groups and labor organizations, they reached every section of the country, and our mail showed hundreds responded by writing the White House or their Senators No other weekly publication made these texts available—even the New York Times did not print them. In the fight for peace, the Weekly proved its usefulness again.

Help us widen our audience. We'd like a thousand new readers before the summer doldrums settle down on circulation departments. So we're offering a special 6-months gift subscription offer at only $2. Surely you have a friend you'd like to introduce to the Weekly. Or send it to your local editor or your favorite minister or to the library of your home town. You may have a half dozen of these 6-month gift subs at only $10, and we'll bill you if you like. Only sit down and do it now. Make up that list of friends and send it to us today. The tide is slowly turning toward peace and freedom. As the ice cracks and fear abates, the potential of progressivism in America will begin to make itself felt again. Help the momentum of revival by helping us reach more people with indispensable news and ammunition in the fight for peace and civil liberties.

With many thanks,

I. F. Stone

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Not Even "Proof" of Prospective Crime Will Be Required for Blacklisting

Worse Than The Kafka-ish Procedure of the Butler Bill

(Continued from Page One)

chance to avoid being blacklisted under these provisions. Under the original Act, to prove membership the government would have to prove it by overt acts—payment of dues, possession of a membership card, attendance at meetings. In addition Section 5 (c) set up safeguards by which an individual could contest and hold up designation as a member by the Attorney General.

Normal Proof Made Unnecessary

But last August in passing the Communist Control Act of 1954 Congress repealed Section 5 (c) and adopted the Humphrey-Morse-Douglas amendment for determining membership. The 14 standards established by this amendment would make it unnecessary to prove membership in the normal way. They are so sweeping that anyone who has ever in any way helped to achieve an objective which was also sought by the Communists—even though a lawful objective—could be held to be a member. When the 1950 Act is reread in the light of the 1954 amendment, it will be seen that if the Communist party registration order is upheld and the plant listing goes into effect, the foundations are laid for universal blacklisting of militants.

This again would be worse than the Butler bill. The Butler bill would bar from employment any person "as to whom there is reasonable ground to believe they may engage in sabotage of the industrial economy and productive capabilities of the United States, espionage or other subversive acts" in order to weaken resistance to "actual or threatened war, invasion, insurrection, subversive activity, disturbance or threatened disturbance of international relations." This weird formula, requiring an administrative finding that a man *might* commit a crime, is rendered the more Kafka-ish by the further provision that at the "trial" nothing in the act shall require "any investigatory organization of the U. S. government to disclose its informants or other information which in its judgment would endanger its investigatory activity." (The Butler bill thus seeks to protect the FBI in advance against an unfavorable ruling on secret accusations in the pending or some future *Peters* case.)

The procedure threatened under the Internal Security Act as amended is worse than the Butler bill. It would not be necessary to show that a man *might* commit a criminal or "subversive" act. It would only be necessary to show that he had, for example, "indicated by word, action, conduct, writing or in any other way a willingness to carry out in any manner and to any degree the plans, designs, objectives, or purposes of the [Communist] organization." (Sec. 5 (12) of the 1954 Act.) A trade unionist who helped in any labor or reform campaign which was also supported by the Communists could be brought within the orbit of such sweeping language. It would not be necessary to prove that he had committed or might commit an illegal act.

Thus through a Supreme Court decision upholding the registration order against the Communist party the Defense Department might accomplish not only all but much more than it could achieve through the Butler bill. The same awareness that led the labor movement to oppose the Butler bill as a new way of setting up a master industrial blacklist against militant workers should lead them to support by briefs the petition filed by the Communists for review of the registration order. The consequences are too serious, the potential area of damage too widespread, to leave this case entirely in the hands of a hated minority, forced to argue without support, in the context of general suspicion. The broader implications ought to be brought home to the court by the appearance of the C.I.O., the A.F. of L. and the railroad brotherhoods as *amici curiae*. For in the obscure recesses of this unpopular cause may be forged a deadly weapon against the entire labor movement.

NEXT WEEK

"They Worked Their Way Through College Spying for the FBI."

An Account of the Junius Scales Trial in North Carolina.

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